4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

593 [875] eat. The older nephew was teacher in the *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

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them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, but attractive when he willed to be. 855

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also had two wives, one much older than the other. This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died. 596

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

462 241 and transporting it therefrom. They helped with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 252 One or two men swung the large wooden mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 342 412 Men worked in large groups to bring the stone for a building's foundation, transport, bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 855 622 875 648 Men sometimes took charge of children, even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indulgent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

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511 562 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 292 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Education.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

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855 more than two years old. However, then the mother seldom continued to take it with her, 855 for it could be left with older children in the 857 same part of the village if there was no one in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

857 Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

241 The second type known in Tonkin is that of the Embroidered Meo, who are sometimes called Hoa Meo. They are subdivided into two groups, Red Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Len), and "Meo of the comb" (in the Meo tongue, Mong Soa). The costume of Embroidered Meo women consists of a short skirt embroidered in five colors, a jacket open on the bosom in the style described above but trimmed with embroidered borders and armbands, and without the sailor collar, a blue apron, and enormous leggings, which make the leg look like an elephant's foot.

The turban is rather characteristic. It is formed of a long string wound around the head, together with the hair hanging down, which is bound together and carefully gathered up on the head. The jewelry is similar to that of the White Meo women.

/136/ The third variety of the Meo ethnic group is the Black Meo (in the Meo tongue, Mong Du). Among them the women's costume consists of a skirt as pleated and short as that of the White Meo, but of black material, a dark blue jacket with a border of an insipid light blue and provided with double sleeves ending in light blue cuffs edged with white piping. This bodice comes to a point at the throat and reveals the upper part of the breast-covering which has horizontal embroidered stripes. It is held in at the waist by a light colored belt whose fringed ends fall down in back. A deep blue turban is knotted around the head rather irregularly. The leggings are not wrapped around the lower part of the leg. It is a kind of cylindrical gaiter of blue material which is put on like a stocking and is fastened by garters whose fringed ends are left hanging.

301 A wide necklace and the usual jewelry adorn this curious costume.

## Section 5

### Social Organization--The Family and the Tribe

593 The family is firmly established among the Meo. As among all the neighboring races, the authority of the father of the family is absolute within the home, and the wife is the first servant of her husband. She takes an active part in work in the fields, cares for her children, cooks for her household and for the animals, and still finds time to make all the articles of clothing for the entire household.

855 Children are brought up austerely. From their earliest years
857 they have to look out for the herds, then they are initiated into the

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/55 cont./

A 551 [553] In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tšǒpa̋, tšŏnium, tšǫ̆nkǫ̋.

Girls' names are: minyu, tšopyǫ́, mĭnā́.

/56/ c) Children

M 655 [842] The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick M [515] [291] to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a M [291] [527] festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

A 855 [515] [296] In the villages of the Akha, on the other hand, the children give the impression of being better cared for. They are washed once a day, in the morning or in the evening, and their clothes are also washed and kept in order. Moreover, the children of the Akha are lovingly adorned (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") and are a very charming sight (Ill. 7).

A M 853 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

A M 854 The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855] [See cat. 1K, p 240 - ANALYST]

1 [See cat. 1K, p 240 - ANALYST]
2 [see cat. 1L, p472 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/78 cont./

A M 596 A M [595] [608] A M [614] A M 855 596 M [595] A [603] A M 868

a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation concerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family").

Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the children. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is primarily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the boys, that of the men (Ill. 63).[1] I also saw fathers, however, who spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child, took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting, which meant a separation of several days.

The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64).[2] There are only a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes connected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns -- which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils their mistakes.

1 [see cat 116, p469 - ANALYST]
2 [ " " " p470 - " ]